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POST-SUMMIT CONSULTATIONS AND CSCE PROSPECTS

Summary

Secretary Kissinger's current round of consultations in Western Europe impressed foreign media commentators as evidence of a U.S. desire to strengthen Atlantic bonds as a new phase of the CSCE begins following the Moscow summit.

At the same time, they continued to express concern over consequences of detente for the allies and over inability to reach more definitive strategic arms agreements.

--London's Financial Times observed that the West Europeans could "resist any easy sell-out to the Russians" in the CSCE, but added that most of them "must be increasingly aware that the pursuit of detente...can lead to a divergence of perceived interests between themselves and the U.S. "

--Die Welt of Hamburg doubted that the superpowers would "gradually apply the brakes and finally come to a halt" as suggested in the summit communique, for "the U.S. is compelled to take up the challenge...in atomic expansion" making "negotiation not simpler but more difficult. "

--A byliner in Switzerland's Neue Zuercher Zeitung held that, "unlike most West Europeans, Nixon has committed himself to an overly optimistic judgment of the present state and prospects of normalizing the situation in Europe by way of CSCE. "

Calling the Secretary's talks with West European leaders "useful and positive, " Turin's La Stampa judged that "the positions of Europe and the U.S. are converging - -a most important fact in the light of the unhappy nuclear summit. "

Belgium's Het Belang van Limburg said Mr. Kissinger's visit to Europe "must emphasize renewed Atlantic understanding" but was also aimed at creating "the desired atmosphere for preparation of the next, important step toward...East-West detente. "

Moscow media continued to play the summit as "a milestone in the history of the relations between the Soviet Union and the U.S. " whose "results are approved by the vast majority of the international public" (Pravda, as cited by Radio Moscow.)

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Paris: "The Most Extraordinary Diplomat"

Secretary Kissinger's visits to Paris, Rome and Bonn were leading international topics on state-run French television over the weekend. The second network judged the attendance at the football World Cup match at Munich by "the most extraordinary diplomat of all times" to be "a symbol of peace."

"French-U.S. Relations Warming Up"

Both networks aired film reports on his meeting with President Giscard d'Estaing, which one called "an indication of the clear warming up of Franco-U.S. relations." Mr. Kissinger was reported to be "very satisfied" with the meeting.

Television reports stressed that the energy crisis and the question of an Arab-European conference were major topics of the Giscard-Kissinger conversation. One account said:

"Kissinger is known to be opposed to such a conference, in which he sees a competition... The U.S. is anxious lest it be short-circuited in the Middle East."

Moderate-right Aurore of Paris noted that Secretary Kissinger had stated the talks "were held in a very friendly constructive, open and warm manner." It asked:

"Therefore, can one conclude... that Giscard d'Estaing's France is sacrificing its independence, which is slowly being strangled by the U.S.? For the time being, this is a debatable conclusion."

The paper suggested that while "the threat of the two superpowers exercising joint ownership of the world suddenly looms," Mr. Kissinger's "European trip of explanation" could be considered "evidence of a U.S. willingness to have continuing consultations among the allies as provided for by the Atlantic declaration just signed in Brussels."

"Nixon, Kissinger Contribution to Detente"

Raymond Aron, writing today in moderately conservative, influential Figaro of Paris on "The Ambiguity of Detente," maintained that "every now and then the President of the U.S. and the Secretary of State explain that detente is the only alternative to thermonuclear war; they are both too intelligent to take their words seriously." He commented:

"The desire of Moscow and Washington leaders to prevent a global conflict is much older than the coming into office of President Nixon, or even of President Kennedy."

Aron said, "This common will already existed and was demonstrated spectacularly" when "in 1948-49, President Truman refused to break the Berlin blockade by sending in an armed convoy.... In 1956 neither President Eisenhower nor Foster Dulles had any desire to intervene in Eastern Europe. (In that long-ago period, Henry Kissinger criticized their passivity.)" Aron added:

"During the Nixonian phase of detente, the Soviet Union... continued or even increased its armament program, both nuclear and classical. The interdiction of experiments in the atmosphere... has not impeded quality progress of the U.S. arsenal, nor the quality and quantity progress of Soviet armaments..."

He asked, "What has been the personal contribution to detente of Messrs. Nixon and Kissinger?" His conclusion was, "Essentially, the solemn agreement on good behavior principles between the two countries--which resulted from the common will to prevent a nuclear war--and the many agreements on cooperation in the scientific, technical and economic fields..."

Bonn: "Schmidt, Kissinger Agreed on CSCE, Geneva"

West German papers reported Secretary Kissinger's conversation with FRG leaders in relation to problems for Europe following the Moscow summit.

Today's independent General-Anzeiger of Bonn reported that "in a 90-minute talk in Munich, Schmidt and Kissinger agreed that CSCE problems could be solved and the Geneva deliberations concluded this year by a summit meeting.

Schmidt and Kissinger also discussed the energy crisis and the resulting problems for the U.S. and EEC. Furthermore, Kissinger informed his host of the background of the Nixon-Brezhnev arms limitations talks." It concluded:

"In the light of this information, political circles in Bonn expect Soviet forthcomingness on key points. However, it is becoming increasingly clear that the West must make concessions on its call for freer exchange of information and movement of persons.... The European countries, particularly the FRG, have pressed this point."

"Pulling the Wool Over America's Eyes?"

Today's right-center Die Welt of Hamburg carried a byliner's view that while "Moscow values Nixon's visit as a political tribute.... Western Europe is variously impressed" by the trip. He continued:

"Critics of the Communist regime, those who oppose injustice and arbitrary use of might, are deeply concerned that the U.S. side--as they see it--is acting without instinct or imagination. The proof adduced is that these American negotiators do not seem to notice how the Kremlin has been able to pull the wool over its guests' eyes..."

"Will World Keep Hoping?"

On Saturday a Bonn correspondent for the paper asked, "Will the world really continue to hope that the U.S. and the USSR will gradually apply the brakes and finally come to a halt, as is spoken of in the latest summit communique of the giants?..."

He judged that "the U.S. is compelled to take up the challenge and keep in step with the USSR in atomic expansion.... MIRV improvements and increases, with reliable control becoming impossible, make negotiation not simpler but more difficult. Time is running out for the SALT talks."

Genscher Interview

Yesterday the sister Welt am Sonntag reported that in an interview Foreign Minister "Genscher told this paper that the Government considers the information furnished it by Kissinger on the Nixon-Brezhnev talks to be 'completely satisfactory' and 'proof of a reinvigoration of the Atlantic Alliance.'"

"No Progress on Arms Until Kissinger Returns to Moscow"

Cologne's independent Koelner Stadt-Anzeiger judged on Saturday that the summit, "slight as the tangible result may have been, was no less useful for that... From the American point of view, this much is clear: Nixon has rescued the political thaw... from the interference of Watergate..."

"Kissinger thinks the Kremlin and Washington have 18 months left to call off the menacing armaments race. But no progress can be expected until October, when Kissinger meets Brezhnev in Moscow again to seek a 'conceptual breakthrough.' And everything depends on whether, in October, there is certainty about Nixon's future..."

London: "Kissinger Mission the Most Striking Development"

British media today interpreted Secretary Kissinger's West European consultations as a preparation for closer transatlantic collaboration as CSCE moves into a new phase.

The independent London Financial Times saw as "perhaps the most striking outcome of the Nixon-Brezhnev summit... the painstaking efforts of Dr. Kissinger to explain what was said and agreed in Moscow to all Washington's NATO allies." It declared that the Secretary would "need to persuade the British Government, as he has apparently persuaded the German, that... Mr. Nixon did not deviate significantly from the NATO position."

The paper pointed out that the West European governments could "resist any easy sell-out to the Russians" in the CSCE, but added that most of them "must be increasingly aware that the pursuit of detente, and the manifold uncertainties over its future development, can lead to a divergence of perceived interests between themselves and the U.S. -- and that quite apart from the particular domestic pressures on Richard Nixon.

"Sooner or later this may convince them of the need to take a much more serious approach to the question of political solidarity between European countries..."

The paper's correspondent in Munich reported following the Kissinger-Schmidt talks that "the U.S. and West Germany are agreed that a positive conclusion of the European Security Conference is possible by the end of this year and that its final stage could be a summit meeting."

"New U.S. - British-West German Trust Despite Watergate"

The diplomatic correspondent of the liberal Guardian of Manchester and London judged that "the new Anglo-American entente is the theme that comes through strongly in the talks which Dr. Kissinger will be having in London today and it is reinforced by the parallel development in relations between Bonn and Washington in the wake of the talks with the West German leader, Chancellor Schmidt.

"In spite of Watergate, a new relationship of mutual trust is developing between the three key governments of the North Atlantic Alliance, with the arrival of Mr. Wilson at Downing Street and Herr Schmidt in the Chancellor's office in Bonn."

"CSCE Gains or Losses for Europe?"

In an editorial today the paper asserted that "the West European governments ought now to reconsider carefully what they can hope to gain if the laggardly and obscure conference on security and cooperation in Europe succeeds and what they stand to lose if it fails." It held that the Soviet insistence that the conference "publicly endorse the partition of Germany" was tantamount to "demanding that 34 other countries should help them to achieve what appears to be a major foreign policy objective, but without offering anything of consequence in return" and commented:

"The Russians know that all bargains include concessions. It is their turn to make some."

"U.S. Overseas Bases and Summit Failure"

The paper's Washington correspondent, Simon Winchester, contended that "one... factor now seen as the reason for the failure of the summit is the likelihood of a Soviet challenge to the American tenancy of overseas bases.

"To have achieved a permanent strategic arms limitation agreement... would have inevitably provoked argument over American foreign bases. The argument would not have been acceptable to the American side, and it was on that issue in part that the talks were finally abandoned."

The conservative London Daily Telegraph remarked today in an editorial that "nothing can bring trouble to the world economy as quickly and completely as oil. Dr. Kissinger begins his discussions with British ministers this morning on this sensitive subject... The moment might be propitious for an international conference of the sort proposed by the Shah of Persia."

"A Jolt for Kissinger?"

The conservative Daily Mail's diplomatic correspondent suggested that "Dr. Kissinger could be in for a severe jolt when he arrives in London today... Many of his Western partners are angry at the way Mr. Nixon seems to have yielded in Moscow to Russian maneuvers for a 'rush to the summit' just because it helps the American President divert attention from his Watergate woes.

"With the Russians refusing to make any concession at the CSCE there is growing opposition to having a showpiece summit when there are no real dividends for the West."

"Post-Summit Letdown"

The conservative Sunday Telegraph carried the observation of byliner Gordon Brook-Shepherd that there was "a general feeling of letdown after the American-Soviet summit from which so much was expected--or feared.

"Paradoxically, even those who were giving warnings against an American 'sell-out' to the Russians seem to share in the disappointment that nothing dramatic of any nature has happened."

"Nixon and Kissinger Got Little From Moscow"

Correspondent Henry Brandon wrote in the independent Sunday Times that "for those who believe that at the heart of the detente is the need to bring the nuclear weapons race under control," the Moscow meeting "was a disappointment." He judged that "the President and Dr. Kissinger gave nothing away and got little in exchange."

The independent London Sunday Observer's diplomatic correspondent reported that "Dr. Kissinger left Moscow an intensely frustrated man full of forebodings about the future... He had failed to persuade President Nixon... to overrule the arguments of the Pentagon against an interim agreement to limit the arms race."

Rome Reporting

Italian media prominently played Secretary Kissinger's conversations with Italian and West German leaders.

State-controlled TV last night said East-West relations were the main topic of discussion with Italian leaders and that "the opinions of the Americans and West Germans are identical" as regards convening the next session of CSCE. It said they were agreed that "the Western countries would want to see substantial progress on such vital questions as the free flow of persons and information between East and West Europe before agreeing to the final European summit so strongly urged by Moscow..."

"Privileged Bonn-Washington Relationship?"

A Bonn correspondent for independent-conservative Corriere della Sera of Milan wrote today:

"Schmidt, who advocates European partnership with the U.S., thinks the U.S. should cooperate closely with West Germany in order to help NATO by trying to resolve the European crisis, which is primarily an Anglo-French-Italian crisis.

"This hints at the concept of a privileged relationship between Bonn and Washington, based on the assumption that economics is at the heart of 'Atlanticism.' If the present economic and socio-political structures of Britain, France and Italy should break down now, NATO could collapse..."

"Kissinger Consultations Serve His Purposes"

A byliner for left-of-center La Stampa of Turin wrote yesterday that while Secretary Kissinger's European tour was in fulfillment of the new Atlantic charter consultation requirement, it served his purposes as well, "proving useful and positive because it enabled him to feel the pulses of the French and Italians. The positions of Europe and the U.S. are converging," he wrote, "a most important fact in the light of the unhappy nuclear summit between Nixon and Brezhnev.

"Kissinger's diplomatic test of strength started in the Middle East and ended in the Old World. After avoiding the worst in the Middle East and suffering a stalemate in Moscow, this artist of Realpolitik

now has promised to focus on EEC. His attention has been attracted by inflation, the energy crisis, changes in leadership in Bonn and London as well as the openings offered by Giscard d'Estaing and the Italian crisis."

Papers reported that Mr. Kissinger had discussed the international status of Jerusalem in an audience with Pope Paul.

Belgium: "Preparing Next Step for Detente"

Mr. Kissinger's Brussels visit produced these headlines on Friday: "Kissinger Expresses Satisfaction at Outcome of Moscow Summit" (conservative Catholic La Libre Belgique), "Kissinger at NATO: There Have Been No Secret Accords With Soviets" (labor Catholic La Cite), "NATO and EC Informed on Moscow Summit" (Catholic Gazet van Antwerpen).

A Friday editorial in Catholic Het Belang van Limburg of Hasselt stated that Mr. Kissinger's visits to European capitals immediately after the summit "must emphasize renewed Atlantic understanding, but also have a wider objective." The paper conjectured that Mr. Kissinger "wants to create the desired atmosphere for preparation of the next, important step toward further construction of East-West detente."

"Kissinger Explanation Acceptable"

Catholic De Nieuwe Gids noted that Mr. Kissinger gave "an acceptable explanation" for the failure to reach accord on MIRVs at the Moscow summit: "Neither side could quite convince its military."

The paper went on to say, "Perhaps we should rejoice that Mr. Nixon and Mr. Brezhnev did not so easily find agreement. A giant of peace that could flow from it might well have clay feet. Such matters gain by being talked through. Anyhow, it is a fact that condominium...does not automatically result from dialogue between Mr. Nixon and Mr. Brezhnev."

Zurich: "Complicity With Totalitarianism?"

Switzerland's prestigious Neue Zuercher Zeitung yesterday carried a byliner's contention that "unlike most West Europeans, Nixon has committed himself to

an overly optimistic judgment of the present state and prospects of normalizing the situation in Europe by way of CSCE.... Cosmetics are applied to the diagnosis he has co-signed, one which suppresses essential elements such as the fact that no starting points "for normalization through freedom of communication "are discernible...

"If the official statements are mere publicity with verbal concessions, they come closer to propaganda than to the principle that to remain credible a politician must state facts instead of referring to nonexistent things....

"Agreement between two great powers certainly is an important and legitimate undertaking, provided it is aimed at prevention of war and dismantling of confrontation. But can it include complicity with totalitarianism?... "

Amsterdam: "Glossing Over Difficulties"

Far-left Trouw of Amsterdam wrote on Friday, "The agreements reached in Moscow by Mr. Nixon and Mr. Brezhnev, which deceptively resemble a form of arms control, really only give rise to one question: Whom do these leaders think they are fooling? The fact of the matter is that in reality they have agreed to continue the nuclear weapons race at the same steady rate." The paper added the view that the accord on rocket defense systems "has little more than a 'cosmetic meaning.'"

Amsterdam's independent Het Parool said on Friday, "This sort of splendid-sounding agreement...is used to gloss over the actual difficulties. In such cases, nothing is said about the contrasts in the political and humanitarian fields, so that the cordial atmosphere is not disturbed."

Copenhagen: "More Summits--More Results"

Independent Information of Copenhagen remarked on Friday that "if more summits like this are held--either routinely or not--then some of the objectives may be reached, including the most important ones."

Tokyo: "SALT Continuation Welcome"

Business-oriented Nihon Keizai of Tokyo judged that since the seven agreements outlined in the summit communique "were expected beforehand," the talks could

only be termed "businesslike." However, the paper felt that the agreement to continue the SALT talks should be welcomed since "it means that the two nuclear superpowers are not destroying their basic positions on maintaining a 'central balance' in the strategic structure of the world."

Today's Yomiuri carried a report from its Washington correspondent under the head, "Nixon Visit to Japan to Be Realized by this Autumn?"

Manila Treatment

Manila media gave prominent coverage to post-summit developments. Television networks led with wire accounts of the Kissinger statement to the NATO ambassadors that President Nixon made no secret deals with Moscow on European security. Other foreign coverage included the Secretary's meeting with French leaders.

Yesterday's Bulletin Today ran a cartoon picturing Mr. Nixon and Mr. Brezhnev ready to cut down the "Nuclear Arms Development Tree." The caption was "How Soon?"

New Delhi: "Suspicion the Obstacle at Moscow"

A Washington correspondent of the independent moderate Statesman of Calcutta and New Delhi summarized the outcome of the Moscow summit with this comment:

"The positive achievement of the meeting was the ability to discuss differences. The negative was the failure to agree on their biggest mutual problem: how to stop the arms race in the building and deploying of the multi-headed, offensive nuclear missiles known as MIRVs... The real obstacle was mutual suspicion..."

Karachi: "No Instant Results"

Pro-Government Morning News of Karachi today headed an editorial on the Moscow summit, "Easier to Meet Than to Agree." It said:

"The Nixon-Brezhnev summit may have disappointed those who expected instant results from their talks.... Despite... limitations, the agreement between the two superpowers on economic cooperation, a trade pact and their accord on anti-missile defenses must lead to a reduction of international tensions. This is exactly what the strife-ridden world needs today."

Tel Aviv: "Gave Momentum to Palestine Representation"

Independent Haaretz of Tel Aviv observed today that "yesterday in Rome Kissinger gave additional momentum" to the question of Palestinian representation at Geneva "by announcing that all parties will be represented" at the next meeting there.

Moscow Plays Summit Approval

Moscow media continued through the weekend to play themes of detente and summit success. (See WTCI No. 82 of July 1 for major themes and Nos. 83 and 84 for sustaining treatment.)

More recent commentaries stressed official Soviet and international press and popular approval of the summit outcome.

Thus Radio Moscow on Saturday reported in an English broadcast that Pravda, in a leading article, "begins by calling this summit a milestone in the history of the relations between the Soviet Union and the U.S. The summit, it says, brought about agreement in principle on major problems of our time. It aroused great interest all over the world and its results are approved by the vast majority of the international public and warmly supported by progressives everywhere."

Similarly, domestic radio carried the statement of Valentin Zorin, political observer for central television and All-Union Radio, that the summit "has been rated throughout the world as an event of prime political importance. The world press notes that the results of this meeting will have far-reaching consequences and will have the most positive effect not only on relations between the Soviet Union and the U.S., but on the entire international situation as a whole."

Moscow home service on Saturday also carried the notation of "political observer" Yuri Zhukov that "this morning we listened to reports on the radio and read in newspapers that the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, the Supreme Soviet Presidium and the USSR Council of Ministers have given a high assessment of the results of the talks, regarding them as a major landmark in the development of Soviet-American relations and the cause of further relaxation of international tension."

"Nixon Rated Talks High"

Yesterday's weekly "International Observers' Roundtable" on domestic radio included the observation of a participant that "President Nixon, on his return to the U.S., highly evaluated the Moscow talks and their results."